/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al- 601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true • 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/81 cont./

857 [828] apprenticeship he accompanies his father in hunting, in the collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning, under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously -- [114] [593] [866] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the village of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to 889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At 866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do [593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age [606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence, working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law, on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's 593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him /82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa- • [604] tion about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapái*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or technical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
603 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care
736 and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.

[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 [178] Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a general way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 [173] The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 601 602 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way, a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

121 178 182 60 433 [124] economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have indications that certain features of the kinship system have also changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are not known, just as the relations between them and that of the economy are not, although we may have indications that they exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes beyond the scope of the present article.

191 175 582 604 [113] A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as early as the sixteenth century (9)

> 9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

> 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 604 124 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain [114] confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.